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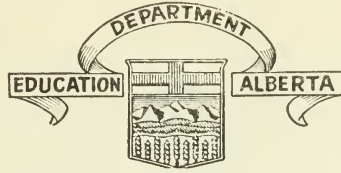
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# CLASSROOM BULLETIN

ON

# SOCIAL

# STUDIES

This Bulletin has been specially prepared for the use of teachers of Social Studies 2, offering information re textbooks, reference books and procedures.



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"The Classroom Bulletin on Social Studies", which is published at fr quent intervals, aims to assist teachers and students, particularly those who have not access to adequate library facilities. It is hoped that teachers will make full use of the possibilities offered by the Bulletin. They may do so by submitting suggestions for future issues regarding topics or procedures which, in their opinion, should have a place in this publication. Ideally, the Bulletin should function as the clearing-house for all materials and ideas that will serve to make social studies in the high school more meaningful and vital.

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# PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES

(Social Studies 2, Unit VIII)

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## Introduction

The American colonists declared their independence of Great Britain in 1776. During the war that followed, the revolting colonies adopted a plan of union called the "Articles of Confederation". These gave much power to each of the newly created states but little to the central government, which was without a head or president and could not make laws nor tax the people for national purposes. There were many disputes about trade boundaries, and some of the states nearly went to war among themselves.

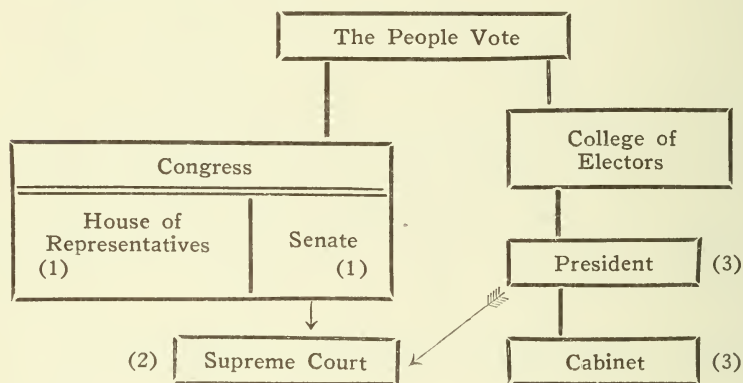
Consequently, four years after the conclusion of hostilities with Great Britain in 1783, a Federal Convention was held in Philadelphia to draw up a constitution by which the new nation might be governed. The task now was to make the United States of America into a strong federal union, that is, a brotherhood of states united for national purposes but independent for local state affairs. This was achieved by the fifty-five delegates to the Philadelphia Convention after four months of somewhat stormy debate. The Constitution was written down, signed by thirty-nine of the delegates and sent to the existing Continental Congress at New York to be forwarded to the states for ratification. This was a hard task, but it was helped by Article IV of the Constitution which allowed for amendments to be made when necessary in future years. Perhaps, the most popular argument against ratification was that the Constitution gave no guarantee of personal liberty. A bill of rights was often suggested as the best way of remedying this criticism. Finally, the leading supporters of the Constitution promised to present a bill of rights in amendment form, and as a result a sufficient number of states ratified the Constitution for the commencement of the new government.

What then does this written Constitution do for the American nation? In brief, it provides for a President, a Congress and a Supreme Court. The President, who is also Commander-in-Chief of the American Army and Navy, is the Chief Executive of the federal government. A President is elected for a four-year term. This makes for stability. His duties are comparable with both those of King and Prime Minister in Britain, or with those of both Governor-General and Prime Minister in Canada. The President chooses the Supreme Court Judges and the members of his Cabinet subject to the approval of the Senate. Yet in reality the Congress is master, as it has to pass all laws and confirm all treaties. The President, it should be pointed out further, has power to veto a bill, but his veto may be overridden if two-thirds of the members of both houses re-pass the bill.

The Congress, provided for by the Constitution, consists of two houses—an upper house or Senate, and a lower house, the House of Representatives, and both houses are elected by the people. In the Senate, each state has two Senators, whether its population is small or great; but in the House of Representatives, the number of members for each state depends upon the size of its population. The members of the House of Representatives and one-third of the Senators are elected every two years. Thus the full term for a Senator is six years. Today there are 96 Senators and 435 Representatives.

Finally, the Constitution gave the new nation a Supreme Court which, among its other duties, may decide whether any Act of Congress is within Congressional power as defined by the Constitution and its amendments.

### Organization of the Government of the United States



- Functions: (1) Legislation.  
 (2) Justice.  
 (3) Administration.

After the Constitution came into force the First Congress at its first session adopted ten amendments known as the Bill of Rights. These amendments established democratic principles not given in the Constitution itself and placed restrictions upon the federal government, not upon the states. The Bill of Rights guaranteed the following freedoms: religion; speech and press; home, person and property; prohibition of excessive bail, excessive fines, cruel and unusual punishments. At the same time the rights to fair trial, assembly and petition, just compensation for private property taken for public use, due process of law, and the keeping and bearing of arms were guaranteed. Finally, on account of the fear of a too powerful central government, the Bill of Rights declared that powers not given to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, were reserved to the states or to the people.



However, it is interesting to note that in more recent times some Americans have come to the conclusion that these ten amendments to the Constitution are not enough. On January 14th, 1940, President Roosevelt sent to Congress a statement prepared by the National Resources Planning Board. The Board believes that new freedoms must be added to the old and that a new declaration of rights is in order. The proposed rights are as follows:

1. The right to work, usefully and creatively through the productive years.
2. The right to fair pay, adequate to command the necessities of life in exchange for work, ideas, thrift, and other socially valuable service.
3. The right to adequate food, clothing, shelter, and medical care.
4. The right to security, with freedom from fear of old age, want, dependency, sickness, unemployment, and accident.
5. The right to live in a system of free enterprise, free from compulsory labour, irresponsible private power, arbitrary public authority, and unregulated monopolies.
6. The right to come and go, to speak or to be silent, free from spyings of secret political police.
7. The right of equality before the law, with equal access to justice in fact.
8. The right to education, for work, for citizenship, and for personal growth and happiness.
9. The right to rest, recreation, and adventure; the opportunity to enjoy life and take part in an advancing civilization.

This statement of new rights has caused considerable controversy. While opinion is favourable to all of the items as objectives or goals many do not agree that such aims, however desirable, are rights. There has been no legislative adoption as yet.

### **THE STRUGGLE FOR UNION (1828-1865).**

(Background material only for events after 1865)

When George Washington became President in 1789, the thirteen original states of the Union were in many respects very unlike the same states today. In some the executive was called president; in others governor as at the present time. In some he had a veto; in others he had not. In some there was no senate. To be a voter in those days a man had to have an estate worth a certain sum of money, or a specified annual income, or own a certain number of acres. Moreover, to be eligible as governor or member of a state legislature, a man had to own more property than was needed to qualify him to vote.

The adoption of the Constitution made necessary certain acts of legislation by the states. They could issue no more bills of credit;

provision therefore had to be made for the redemption of those outstanding. They could lay no duties on imports; those who had laid import duties had to repeal their laws and abolish their custom-houses. All lighthouses, beacons, and buoys maintained by individual states were surrendered to the United States, and in other ways the states had to adjust themselves to the new government.

Each of the states was in debt for money and supplies used in the war; and over the whole country hung a great debt contracted by the old Continental Congress. Part of this national debt was represented by bills of credit, loan-office certificates, lottery certificates, and many other sorts of promises to pay, which had become almost worthless. This was particularly true of the bills of credit or paper money issued in great quantities by the Continental Congress, thus giving rise to the saying, "not worth a continental". The Continental bills having long ceased to circulate, the currency of the country consisted of paper money issued by individual states, and the gold, silver, and copper coins of foreign countries.

At the second session of Congress, provision was made, in the Funding Measure, for the assumption of the Continental and state debts incurred during the war for independence. This funding of the debt, which had been proposed by Alexander Hamilton, was the first great financial measure adopted by Congress. The second, passed in 1791, was the charter of the Bank of the United States with power to establish branches in the states and to issue bank notes to be used as money. The third, enacted in 1792, was the law providing for a national coinage and authorizing the establishment of a United States mint for making the coin. Other financial measures of Washington's first term were the tariff law, which levied duties on imported goods, wares, and merchandise, the excise or whisky tax, and the law fixing rates of postage on letters.

As to the justice and wisdom of these Acts of Congress the people were sharply divided. Those who approved and supported the administration were called Federalists, and had for leaders Washington, John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Robert Morris, John Jay, and Rufus King; those who opposed the administration were the Anti-Federalists, or Republicans, whose great leaders were Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe, all future Presidents of the United States. These Republicans opposed the funding measures, the national bank, and the excise. When the time came, in 1792, to elect a successor to Washington, there were thus two political parties. Both parties supported Washington for President; but the Republicans tried hard, though in vain, to defeat Adams for Vice-President.

### Jeffersonian Democracy.

It is important to note that Hamilton and Jefferson, the two outstanding leaders of the Federalists and Republicans, held very different views as to the nature of democracy. To Hamilton, the aver-



age man was incapable of full participation in his own government. The citizen, he held, was a person to be carefully controlled in the interests of the unity and solidarity of the whole nation. Hamilton, therefore, advocated a strong central government and the limitation of individual and state rights. But Jefferson, with his deep faith in human nature, was convinced that America would find her greatness in the masses. He stressed the importance of equal opportunities for all, an idea which came to be known by historians as "the American dream". Consequently, his school of thought stressed the maintenance of individual rights at the highest possible point and urged more powers for the States in the belief that they were the soundest bulwarks for individual rights. It is significant that the opposing concepts held by Hamilton and Jefferson have been major issues in the United States ever since.

However, confidence in the new nation had returned as the people now had a government that could raise revenue, pay its debts, regulate trade with foreign nations and between the states, enforce its laws and provide a uniform currency. Men felt safe to engage in business and consequently trade and commerce revived, and money long unused was brought out and invested. Banks were incorporated and their stock quickly purchased. Manufacturing companies were organized and mills and factories started; a score of canals were planned and the building of several was begun; turnpike companies were chartered; lotteries were authorized to raise money for all sorts of public improvements—schools, churches, wharves, factories, and bridges; and speculation in stock and Western land became a rage.

### **The Nation Grows.**

By the middle of the nineteenth century the United States had rapidly expanded in area. By the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, Britain ceded to the American states all the territory east of the Mississippi. The northern boundary was eventually set at the Great Lakes. The region known as Florida was purchased from Spain in 1819; Louisiana, then a great triangle stretching from the mouth of the Mississippi northward to Minnesota and thence westward to the Rocky Mountains, belonged to France until 1803. In that year Napoleon, badly in need of funds for the prosecution of his European wars, sold it in the biggest real estate deal in history to the United States for the sum of \$15,000,000. In 1845, Texas was annexed, having revolted from Mexico. In the following year the Oregon territory, consisting roughly of what is now the states of Washington, Oregon and Idaho was recognized as American by Great Britain. Mexico ceded territory which was to become California, Nevada and most of Arizona and New Mexico to the United States in 1848, a result of war. A further small stretch in the south, now included in Arizona and New Mexico, was purchased in 1853. The Alaska territory, nicknamed "Seward's ice-box" after the American Secretary of State, at the time of the purchase, was acquired from Russia for \$7,200,000 in 1867.

A new tariff law was enacted in 1828. So many and so high were the duties laid that the opponents of protection named the law the Tariff of Abominations. To the cotton states it was particularly hateful, and in memorials, resolutions, and protests they declared that a tariff for protection was unconstitutional, unjust and oppressive. They made threats of ceasing to trade with the tariff states, and talked of nullifying, or refusing to obey the law, and even of leaving the Union. This conflict, which was essentially an agrarian south pitted against an industrial north, was a forerunner of America's tragic Civil War from 1861 to 1865.

### **Jacksonian Democracy.**

Great as was the excitement in the South over this new tariff law, it produced little effect in the struggle for the presidency of the same year. The campaign had really been going on for three years past and would have ended in the election of Andrew Jackson, the military hero from Tennessee, had the tariff never existed. "Old Hickory, the "Hero of New Orleans," the "Man of the People," was more than ever the favourite of the hour and, though his party, the Democratic Republicans, was anti-tariff, he carried states where the voters were deeply interested in the protection of manufactures. Indeed, he received more than twice the number of electoral votes cast for Adams, the National Republican candidate. Men hailed the election of Jackson as a great uprising of the people, as a triumph of democracy. They acted as if the country had been delivered from impending evil, and hurried by thousands to Washington to see the hero inaugurated and the era of promised reform opened.

Altogether Jackson's main creed can be summed up in a few points: faith in the common man; belief in political equality; belief in equal economic opportunity; hatred of monopoly, special privilege and the intricacies of capitalistic finance centred in the Eastern United States.

### **Nullification—a threat to the Union.**

The questions with which Jackson had to deal were of serious importance, and on the solution of some of them hung the safety of the republic. One, of course, was the old issue of the tariff. The view of the South, as set forth by the leaders, especially by Calhoun of South Carolina, was that the state ought to nullify the Tariff Act of 1828 because it was unconstitutional. Daniel Webster attacked this South Carolina doctrine and in 1830 argued the issue with Senator Hayne of that state. The speeches of the two men in the Senate, the debate which followed, and the importance of the issue, made the occasion a famous one in the struggle to preserve the Union. That South Carolina would go so far as actually to carry out the doctrine and nullify the tariff did not seem likely. But the seriousness of South Carolina alarmed the friends of the tariff, and in 1832 Congress amended the act of 1828 and reduced the duties.

This did not satisfy South Carolina. The new tariff still protect-

ed manufactures, and it was protection that she opposed; and in November, 1832, she adopted the Ordinance of Nullification which forbade any of her citizens to pay the tariff duties after February 1, 1833. When Congress met in December, 1832, the great question was what to do with South Carolina. Jackson was determined the law should be obeyed, sent vessels to Charleston harbour, and asked for a Force Act to enable him to collect revenue by force if necessary.

In the course of the debate on the Force Act, Calhoun explained and defended nullification and contended that it was a peaceable and lawful remedy and a proper exercise of state rights. Webster declared that nullification and secession were rebellion, and upheld the authority and sovereignty of the Union. Thus was raised the great issue over which the Civil War was fought thirty years later.

### **The Compromise of 1833.**

Henry Clay meanwhile came forward with a compromise. He proposed that the tariff of 1832 should be reduced gradually until 1842, when all duties should be twenty per cent on the value of the articles imported. As such duties would not be protective, Calhoun and the other Southern members accepted the plan, and the Compromise Tariff was passed in March, 1833. To satisfy the North and uphold the authority of the government, the Force Act was also passed. But as South Carolina repealed the Ordinance of Nullification there was never any need to use force. Thus a possible civil war at this point was avoided.

### **The United States Bank and the Whigs.**

In the presidential election of 1832 Jackson was still the idol of the people and was re-elected by a greater majority than in 1828. One of the issues in the campaign was the re-charter of the Bank of the United States, whose charter was to expire in 1836. Jackson always hated that institution, had attacked it in his annual messages, and had vetoed a re-charter bill passed for political reasons by Clay and his friends in Congress. Jackson therefore looked upon his re-election as popular approval of his treatment of the bank. He continued to attack it and in 1833 ordered the Secretary of the Treasury to remove the deposits of government money from the bank and its branches. The hatred which the National Republicans felt for Jackson was now intense. They accused him of trying to set up a despotic government, and, asserting that they were contending against the same kind of tyranny their forefathers fought against in the War of Independence, they called themselves Whigs. In the state elections of 1834 the new name came into general use and for many years afterwards there was a national Whig party opposed to the Democrats founded by Jackson.

### **The Rising Issue of Slavery.**

However, the negro slavery issue was now coming more and more to the forefront of American politics. Back in 1819 so many

people had crossed the Mississippi and settled on the west bank and up the Missouri that Congress was asked to make a new territory to be called Arkansas and a new state to be named Missouri. Whether the new state was to be slave or free was not stated, but the Missourians owned slaves and a settlement of this matter was important for two reasons: (1) there were then eleven slave and eleven free states, and the admission of Missouri would upset this balance in the Senate; (2) her entrance into the Union would probably settle the policy as to slavery in the remainder of the great Louisiana Purchase. The South therefore insisted that Missouri should be a slave-holding state, and the Senate voted to admit her as such. The North insisted that slavery should be abolished in Missouri, and the House of Representatives voted to admit her as a free state. As neither would yield, the question went over to the next session of Congress.

### **The Missouri Compromise of 1820.**

By that time Maine, which belonged to Massachusetts, had obtained leave to frame a constitution, and applied for admission as a free state. This provided a chance to preserve the balance of states in the Senate, and Congress accordingly passed at the same time two bills, one to admit Maine as a free state, and one to authorize Missouri to make a pro-slavery constitution. The second of these bills embodied the Missouri Compromise, or Compromise of 1820, which provided that in all the territory purchased from France in 1803 and lying north of the parallel  $36^{\circ} 30'$  there never should be slavery, except in Missouri. This Compromise accordingly left a great region from which free states might be made in future, and very little for slave states.

### **Anti-Slavery Agitation.**

Yet the Missouri Compromise was supposed to have settled the issue of slavery. But its effect was just the reverse. Anti-slavery agitators were aroused. The anti-slavery newspapers grew more numerous and aggressive. New anti-slavery societies were formed and old ones were revived and became aggressive—in 1833 delegates from many of them met at Philadelphia and formed the American Anti-slavery Society.

The field of work for the anti-slavery people was naturally the South. That section was flooded with newspapers, pamphlets, pictures, and handbills intended to stir up sentiment for instant abolition of slavery and liberation of the slaves. Against this the South protested, declared such documents were likely to cause slaves to run away or rise in insurrection, and called on the North to suppress them. As to stop their circulation by legal means was not possible, attempts were made to do it illegally. In many Northern cities, particularly Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Utica, mobs broke up the anti-slavery meetings. In Charleston, South Carolina, the postmaster seized some anti-slavery documents and the people burned



them. At Cincinnati, the newspaper office of James G. Birney was twice sacked and his presses destroyed. Another at Alton, Illinois, was four times attacked, and the owner, Elijah Lovejoy was at last killed by the mob while protecting his press.

Not content with this, the pro-slavery people attempted to pass a bill through Congress in 1836 to exclude anti-slavery documents from the mails, and even attacked the right of petition. The bill to close the mails to anti-slavery documents failed. But the attempt to exclude anti-slavery petitions from the House of Representatives succeeded. A "Gag Rule" was adopted which forbade any petition, resolution, or paper relating in any way to slavery or the abolition of slavery to be received, and this was in force down to 1844.

### **Mexico and Slavery.**

By 1848, though, the slavery issue suddenly took a bad turn for the worse. In that year the war with Mexico, which was fought over the Texas boundary, was successfully concluded for the United States. Instead of taking all of Mexico, which could easily have been done, the victors were content to retain Upper California and New Mexico—the region from the Rio Grande to the Pacific and from the Gila River to Oregon. It was then the duty of Congress to provide the people with some American form of government. There needed to be American governors, courts, legislatures, custom houses, revenue laws—in short a complete change from the Mexican way of governing. To do this would have been easy if it had not been for the fact that Mexico had abolished slavery in 1827. All the territory acquired was therefore free soil; but the South wished to make it slave soil. The question of the hour thus became "Shall New Mexico and California be slave soil or free soil?"

So troublesome was the issue that the two great parties tried to keep it out of politics. The Democrats in their platform in 1848 said nothing about slavery in the new territory, and the Whigs made no platform. This action of the two parties so displeased the anti-slavery Whigs and Democrats that they held a convention, formed the Free-soil party, nominated Martin Van Buren for President, and drew away so many New York Democrats from their party that the Whigs carried the state and won the presidential election.

### **Gold in California and Slavery.**

By this time the question of slavery in the new territory was still more complicated by the discovery of gold in California. By August, 1849, some 80,000 gold hunters or "forty-niners," as they came to be called, had reached the mines. As Congress had provided no government, and scarcely any could be said to exist, the people held a convention, made a free-state constitution, and applied for admission into the Union as a state.

This brought on a crisis between the North and the South. Most of the people in the North desired no more slave states and no more

slave territories, abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and the admission of California as a free state. The South opposed these things; complained of the difficulty of capturing slaves that escaped to the free states, and of the constant agitation of the slavery question by the abolitionists; and demanded that the Mexican cession be left open to slavery. Since 1840 two slave-holding states, Florida and Texas (1845), and two free states, Iowa (1846) and Wisconsin (1848), had been admitted to the Union, making fifteen free and fifteen slave states in all; and the South now opposed the admission of California, partly because it would give the free states a majority in the Senate.

### The Compromise of 1850.

At this stage Henry Clay again proposed a solution to the Senate. He had powerfully supported two great compromise measures—the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and the Compromise Tariff of 1833. He believed that the Union was in danger of destruction, but that if the two parties would again compromise, it could be saved. To please the North he now proposed (1) that California should be admitted as a free state, and (2) that the slave trade (buying and selling slaves), but not the right to own slaves, should be abolished in the District of Columbia. To please the South he proposed (1) that Congress should pass a more stringent law for the capture of fugitive slaves, and (2) that two territories, New Mexico and Utah, should be formed from part of the Mexican purchase, with the understanding that the people in them should decide whether they should be slave soil or free. This principle was called “squatter sovereignty,” or “popular sovereignty.”

Texas claimed the Rio Grande as part of her western boundary. But the United States claimed the part of New Mexico east of the Rio Grande, and both sides seemed ready to appeal to arms. Clay proposed that Texas should give up her claim and be paid for so doing. During three months this plan was hotly debated, and threats of secession and violence were made openly. But in the end the plan was accepted: (1) California was admitted, (2) New Mexico and Utah were organized as territories open to slavery, (3) Texas took her present boundary and received \$10,000,000, (4) a new fugitive slave law was passed, and (5) the slave trade was prohibited in the District of Columbia. These measures together were called the Compromise of 1850.

Clay's last great compromise was thought to be a final settlement of all troubles that had grown out of slavery. The great leaders of the Whig and Democratic parties solemnly pledged themselves to stand by the compromise, and when the national conventions met in 1852, the two parties in their platforms made equally solemn promises. The refusal of the Whig party to stand against the compromise drove many Northern voters from its ranks and as a result the Democrats carried every state except four.



## Stephen A. Douglas and Slavery.

But Franklin Pierce, the new president, had not been many months in office when the quarrel over slavery was raging once more. In January, 1854, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, introduced into the Senate a bill to organize a new territory to be called Nebraska. Every foot of it was north of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  and was, by the Compromise of 1820, free soil. But an attempt was made to amend the bill and declare that the Missouri Compromise should not apply to Nebraska, upon which such bitter opposition arose that Douglas recalled his bill and brought in another.

The new bill provided for the creation of two territories, one to be called Kansas and the other Nebraska; for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, thus opening the country north of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  to slavery; and for the adoption of the doctrine of popular sovereignty. The Free-soilers tried hard to defeat the bill, but it passed Congress and was signed by Pierce.

### "Bleeding Kansas."

Now there began a seven years' struggle between the Free-soilers and the pro-slavery men for the possession of Kansas. Men of both parties hurried to the territory. The first election was for territorial delegate to Congress, and was carried by the pro-slavery party assisted by hundreds of Missourians who entered the territory, voted unlawfully, and went home. The second election was for members of the territorial legislature. Again the Missourians swarmed over the border, and a pro-slavery legislature was elected. The governor set the elections aside in seven districts, and in them other members were chosen; but the legislature when it met turned out the seven so elected and seated the men rejected by the governor. The pro-slavery laws of Missouri were adopted, and Kansas became a slave-holding territory.

Unwilling to be governed by a legislature so elected, looking on it as illegal and usurping, the free-state men framed a state constitution at Topeka in 1855, organized a state government, and applied to Congress for admission into the Union as a state. The House of Representative voted to admit Kansas, but the Senate would not consent, and in 1856 United States troops dispersed the legislature when it attempted to assemble under the Topeka constitution. Kansas was a slave-holding territory for two years yet before the free-state men secured a majority in the legislature, and not until 1861 did it secure admission as a free state.

### The New Republican Party vs. Slavery.

On political parties the events of the four years 1850-54 were serious. The Compromise of 1850, and the vigorous execution of the new fugitive slave law, drove thousands of old line Whigs from their party. The deaths of Clay and Webster in 1852 deprived the party of its greatest leaders. The Kansas-Nebraska bill completed the ruin,

and from that time on the party was of small political importance. The Democratic party also suffered, and thousands left its ranks to join the Free-soilers. Out of such elements in 1854-56 was founded the new Republican party. However, the Democrats succeeded in winning the presidential election of 1856.

### **The Dred Scott Decision.**

Two days after the inauguration of Buchanan in 1857, the Supreme Court made public a decision which threw the country into intense excitement. A slave named Dred Scott had been taken by his owner from Missouri to the free state of Illinois and then to Minnesota, made free soil by the Compromise of 1820. When brought back to Missouri, Dred Scott sued for freedom. Long residence on free soil, he claimed, had made him free. The case finally reached the Supreme Court of the United States, which decided against him. But in delivering the decision, Chief Justice Taney announced: (1) that Congress could not shut slavery out of the territories, and (2) that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was unconstitutional and void.

This decision confirmed all that the South had gained by the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Compromise of 1850, and also opened to slavery Washington and Oregon, which were then free territories. If the court supposed that its decision would end the struggle, it was much mistaken. Not a year went by but some incident occurred which added to the controversy.

### **The Lincoln-Douglas Debates.**

In 1858 the people of Illinois were to elect a legislature which would choose a senator to succeed Stephen A. Douglas. The Democrats declared for Douglas. The Republicans nominated **Abraham Lincoln**, and as the canvass proceeded the two candidates traversed the state, holding a series of debates. The questions discussed were popular sovereignty, the Dred Scott decision, and the extension of slavery into the territories, and the debates attracted the attention of the whole country. Lincoln was defeated; but his speeches gave him a national reputation.

### **The Democrats Divided.**

The Democrats were now so divided on the slavery issues that when they met in convention at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1860, the party was split in two, and no candidates were chosen. Later in the year the Northern wing nominated Stephen A. Douglas for President. The Southern delegates, at a convention of their own, selected John C. Breckinridge. Meanwhile the Republicans named Abraham Lincoln and, despite threats of the South against the election of a Republican president, carried the election.

### **The Confederate States of America.**

After Lincoln's election, the cotton states, one by one, passed ordinances declaring that they had left the Union. First to go was

South Carolina on December 20, 1860, and by February 1, 1861, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas had followed. On February 4th delegates from six of these seven states met at Montgomery, Alabama, framed a constitution, established the "Confederate States of America," and elected Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens provisional President and Vice-President. Later they were elected by the people.

President Buchanan did nothing to prevent all this, and such was the political situation when Lincoln was inaugurated on March 4th, 1861. His views and his policy were clearly stated in his inaugural address: "I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists . . . No state on its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union . . . The Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability I shall take care that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states . . . In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it be forced upon the national authority . . . The power confided in me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government."

### **Lincoln and the Rebels.**

Almost all the "property and places" belonging to the United States government in the seven seceding states had been seized by the Confederates. But Fort Sumter in Charleston harbour was still in Union hands, and to this, Lincoln notified the governor of South Carolina, supplies would be sent. Thereupon the Confederate army already gathered in Charleston bombarded the fort until Major Anderson surrendered it.

With capture of Fort Sumter the war for the Union opened in earnest. On April 15, 1861, the day after the capture of Fort Sumter, Lincoln called for 75,000 militia to serve for three months. Thereupon Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas seceded and joined the Confederacy. The capital of the Confederacy was soon moved from Montgomery to Richmond, Virginia.

In the slave-holding states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, the Union men outnumbered the secessionists and held these states in the Union. When Virginia seceded, the western counties refused to leave the Union, and in 1863 were admitted into the Union as the state of West Virginia. The Civil War continued until April 1, 1865.

### **Reasons for Southern Defeat.**

Without examining the details of the bitter Civil War which followed, we may sum up the reasons for the collapse of the Confederacy in 1865 as follows:

- (1) Northern superiority in manpower and in material resources;
- (2) Failure of the Ohio valley to join the Confederacy;

- (3) The Northern blockade of Southern ports ;
- (4) Northern diplomacy and the failure of the South to gain European recognition as an independent state ;
- (5) The faulty financial policy of the South, and the ability of the North to secure credit ;
- (6) The breakdown of the Southern transportation system ;
- (7) The staggering Southern losses in battle and the loss of some of their best military commanders ;
- (8) Internal dissension in the South caused by speculation, extortion, and personal ambitions and differences ;
- (9) Inadequate Southern labour supply and failure of the Confederate government to utilize its labour to the best advantage ;
- (10) What Professor Channing calls the "loss of will to fight"—a factor very much in evidence in many parts of the Confederacy in 1864.

### Results of the Civil War.

As Nevins and Commager point out, "The war left the country a mixed heritage of good and evil results. It had saved the Union and given it an "indestructible" character, but the Union that emerged from the fiery cauldron was not the Union of the Fathers. It had abolished slavery forever, but by violence, and without thought for the welfare of the freedmen or of the society in which they had to live and the economy which they had to share. It had struck down an aristocratic oligarchy in the South, but there was no other class ready to assume the responsibilities of government which that class had so largely monopolized, and the South was, for a generation, bereft of its natural leaders. Lincoln had pleaded for government of, by, and for the people, but no fair-minded observer could conclude that the war had advanced democracy in any direct or immediate sense . . . .

"The Civil War worked a revolution in American society and economy, North as well as South. Although the roots of modern America go deep into the pre-war years, we can date its actual emergence from the war itself. That conflict gave an immense stimulus to industry, speeded up the exploitation of natural resources, the development of large-scale manufacturing, the rise of investment banking, the extension of foreign commerce, and brought to the fore a new generation of "captains of industry" and "masters of capital". It enormously accelerated the construction of the railway and telegraph network and ushered in the railroad age. It put a premium upon inventions and labour-saving devices and witnessed the large scale application of these to agriculture as well as to industry. It threw open vast new areas for farming and grazing, developed fresh markets for farm produce, and inaugurated both the agricultural revolution and the farm problem. It created conditions favourable to the growth of cities and offered work to the hundreds of thousands



of immigrants who soon crowded into the New World. In the South, defeat largely destroyed the planter class, freed the Negro, revolutionized farm economy, brought a new middle class to the fore, and laid the foundations for that New South which was to emerge during the next generation. In the North it opened up new fields to investment and to speculation, created a host of war millionaires, and hastened the process of the concentration of control of resources, industry, and finance in the great urban centres, the subordination of the South and West to the North-east, and the creation of new class divisions to take the place of the old."

## 2. THE UNITED STATES AS A "GREAT POWER"—3. THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES.

When George Washington gave his farewell speech upon retiring from the presidency in 1796, he outlined his views as to what he considered desirable in American foreign policy. "The great rule of conduct for us", he stated, "in regard to foreign nations is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. . . Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities . . . Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course . . . Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour, or caprice? It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world . . ."

This policy of avoiding "entangling alliances" influenced the foreign relations of America well into the twentieth century. There were times, of course, when it could not be adhered to rigidly, as, for example, when the United States sent a naval expedition in 1802 to Tripoli in North Africa to punish the Barbary Corsairs who had attacked American shipping. Again, in 1812 the United States was at war with Britain. One of the causes was the British practice of impressing American merchant-seamen to serve in the British navy. It would appear, indeed, that the British still refused to recognize the separate nationality of such seamen. Europe still held to the policy of "inalienable allegiance", which implied that nationalities of one country could never become citizens of another. Such a doctrine, if assented to by the United States, would have made impossible the naturalization of any immigrants, and those who came to this "land of the free" would find themselves subject to recall at the demand of the European government to which they owed allegiance.

## **The Monroe Doctrine.**

It was President James Monroe who in 1823 gave to the world the declaration on American foreign policy which has since been called by his name. The "Monroe doctrine" stated that the United States would never interfere in the internal affairs of any European state; but added that any attempt on the part of any European power to control or hinder the free development of any nation of the western hemisphere would be regarded as an unfriendly act. Following the Napoleonic wars, Spain's South American colonies had broken away from the mother country and had declared themselves republics. It was against any attempt on Spain's part to retake them that Monroe made his famous warning.

The Monroe doctrine was to be challenged, however. During the American Civil War, toward the end of 1861, the French government of Napoleon III, supported by Britain and Spain, sent troops to Mexico to secure various trading rights. France even went so far as to send out Maximilian of Hapsburg to serve as ruler of a new French Empire in the New World. At the close of the Civil War, however, America demanded the withdrawal of the French army from Mexico. Within two years the troops were withdrawn, the empire dissolved and Maximilian executed by order of the new Mexican government of President Juarez.

During the Civil War a ship built in England had been sold to the Confederate States, and, under the name of the "Alabama" had inflicted much damage on Union shipping. Britain was blamed for this and relations were badly strained for many years after the war. Eventually, however, in 1872, Great Britain agreed to pay \$15,500,000 by way of compensation.

## **The Spanish American War.**

In 1895 there took place a revolt in the Spanish island of Cuba where the United States had many interests. When the Spanish attempted to quell the rebellion, the Americans, watchful for any infringement of the Monroe doctrine, maintained a vigilant attitude. On February 15th, 1898, the United States battleship "Maine", was blown up in Havana harbour. Although the cause of the explosion was never discovered, American indignation was aroused against Spain, and "Remember the Maine" became the slogan of the war which followed. The Spanish were decisively defeated by July, 1898, and as a result Cuba became an independent republic, while the island of Puerto Rico and the Philippines were ceded to the United States.

## **Imperial America.**

These clashes with European powers were evidence that the United States was in earnest in defending the Monroe doctrine. It is important to note, however, in the acquisition of Puerto Rico and the Philippines, American imperialistic expansion. This had begun in 1867 with the purchase of Alaska from Russia and the transfer



of the few inhabitants there to American control without regard to their wishes. Samoa was supervised by a joint protectorate of the United States, Great Britain, and Germany during Cleveland's administration, and the United States later obtained territory there. In 1898 Hawaii was acquired, certainly not with the approval of all or a majority of the people concerned. Small isles in the Pacific were obtained as coaling and cable stations. The island of Guam and the Virgin Islands were obtained in 1898 and 1917 respectively.

That imperialism was recognized in America herself was shown in the formation of an Anti-Imperialist League which gave its support to William Jennings Bryan in the election of 1900 on this issue. Nevertheless, President McKinley, the Republican candidate who supported the imperialist policy was re-elected. McKinley was assassinated, however, during the next year. But it was under his successor, Theodore Roosevelt, that the Canal Zone was leased from the Republic of Panama. The Panama Canal, opened in 1915, was to be available for use by commercial and naval vessels of all nations in peace or war. Since that time Haiti, San Domingo, Nicaragua and Honduras have all fallen under the influence of the United States to a greater or lesser degree. In fact, the whole region around the Caribbean Sea has become a "sphere of influence" of the United States.

### **The United States and the First World War.**

It was the World War of 1914-18 which first challenged seriously the feasibility of adhering to traditional isolationism in world affairs. For three years after the outbreak of war in August, 1914 the United States under the leadership of President Woodrow Wilson remained neutral. There were forces pulling both ways within the nation. Although European immigrants had varying sympathies, the number of Germans was decidedly large. But the sinking of American merchant vessels by German submarines eventually led to the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Germany and the declaration of war. Two million Americans were in France when the armistice was declared on November 11th, 1918.

One of the important results of America's entry into the war was a clear declaration of the principles governing the peace to follow. These were embodied in the famous "Fourteen Points" presented to Congress by President Wilson on January 8th, 1918. These points, among other things, demanded open diplomacy, freedom of the seas, removal of all possible economic barriers to trade, reduction of armaments, re-aligning of national boundaries according to the expressed desire of the peoples concerned (the principle of self-determination), and, most important of all, "a general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike". Here was the germ of the League of Nations.

## The United States and the League of Nations.

Unfortunately, Wilson was deserted on the home front. Congress made so many objections to the League Covenant and clamoured for so many changes, that Wilson decided to appeal directly to the American people. It was during this campaign on behalf of the League principles that he suffered a stroke. In the election of 1920 the Republican party won. Harding's slogan of "back to normalcy" had carried the day and the idea of American participation in the League was defeated. The sentiment surrounding Washington's declaration for isolation in world affairs had revived. Nevertheless, there were still occasional marks of an awakened response to world-wide interests, as shown by American representation at various conferences on reparations, disarmament and debt adjustment.

## Between Two Wars.

The depression years of 1929-33, which found millions of potential workers unemployed, brought home to Americans how closely their welfare was linked with that of other peoples. But it took another war to convince the great majority that isolation hence forward will be found an untenable doctrine. Democracy itself was being challenged by the seizure of power by dictators in Italy, Germany, Russia and Spain. Religion was being trampled on, minorities persecuted, and opposition ruthlessly suppressed by a force of secret police. What was more, it soon became evident that the totalitarian states intended to impose their rule and their political ideas on the other countries. Once again, however, although the American government in every way showed its sympathy with the Allied cause, particularly by passing the Lend-lease Act of March 11th, 1941, America remained neutral. It was the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour which finally drew the United States into war. At the same time Germany and Italy declared war on the American republic. Again America had found it impossible to remain aloof from the affairs of Europe.

It may be noted, too, that the United States gave recognition (after Litvinov promised a cessation of Moscow-inspired Communist activity in the United States) to Soviet Russia during the first term of Franklin D. Roosevelt who became President in 1933 and who fully realized that the time for isolation had passed forever. He also did much to create friendly relations among the nations of the New World, and considerable publicity was given to the "Good Neighbour" policy among the Latin-American states as a result of his visit to South America in 1936. In recent years the United States has looked abroad for a new purpose—to seek air bases throughout the world which will enable her to play a leading role in post-war aviation. Present indications are that the United States will continue to take a prominent part in world affairs. (For further details of American foreign policy since 1935, consult Social Studies Bulletin, No. 5, pages 20-26).

Has the United States been inconsistent in her foreign policy? Perhaps not as much as might appear on the surface. Her aim throughout has been the free development of her people. At first that development could best be achieved by the avoidance of entangling European commitments; now it has become increasingly obvious that full freedom cannot be achieved by any one nation while others live in slavery and destitution.

#### 4. THE NEW DEAL

Until 1929, the economic history of the United States had been one of almost uninterrupted advance. Protected by high tariff walls, industry had developed so rapidly that America's mass production became proverbial. After the First World War, business became even more flourishing: great enterprises sprang up like mushrooms; vast advertising schemes were launched to persuade people to buy this or that product; cars, furniture and even clothes were bought on the instalment plan. It looked as though prosperity had come to stay.

Then, unexpectedly, came the crash. Almost overnight the bubble burst. The great depression struck. Prices tumbled; credit was scarce; factories closed; fourteen million people were looking for jobs. From 1929 to 1933 the outlook grew darker. Yet Herbert Hoover, president during this period, refused to heed the counsel of leading Congressmen to the effect that the Federal Government should plan to give direct relief to the unemployed.

In 1933 when the world trade crisis or "depression" and the panic it caused were at their worst, Franklin D. Roosevelt, a relative of Theodore, and one of "President Wilson's young men," was elected President. "We have always known," said the new President in his second inaugural speech, "that heedless self-interest was bad morals; we know now that it is bad economics." Soon he began those far-reaching plans of reform, co-operation and social welfare known to the world as the New Deal. "On several occasions," said the President; "I expressed my faith that we can make, by democratic self-discipline, general increases in wages and shortening of hours, sufficient to enable industry to pay its own workers enough to let those workers buy and use the things that their labour produces . . . That is the simple idea which is the very heart of the National Recovery Act."

#### Methods of the New Deal.

The devices employed by the New Deal for the purpose of revitalizing the American economy were the following:

1. **The restoration of prices.** The raising of prices was at the heart of the New Deal programme. The methods used were: (1) by devaluation of the dollar and an increase in the amount of currency outstanding; (2) by gold purchases from abroad; (3) by seeking to

establish parity prices (and also parity income) for agriculture, through crop limitation (with benefit payments) and commodity loans to farmers; (4) by codes of fair competition in industry to eliminate price cutting.

**2. The revival and expansion of credit.** An important characteristic of the crisis in 1929 and the following years had been the slowing down of the movement of short-term and long-term credit into business. The New Deal used the following methods to make more credit available: (1) by putting the control of the open-market policy of the Federal Reserve Banks into the hands of the government itself, so that a public agency now could expand and contract credit through open-market operations; (2) by lowering the minimum legal reserves required of member banks; (3) by giving the Federal Reserve Board the power to raise the margin requirements for security purchases, thus controlling to some extent the amount of bank credit flowing into brokers' loans; (4) by direct loans made by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to business men.

**3. The raising of the purchasing power of the workers.** The following devices were employed: (1) the establishment of minimum wages and maximum hours in the codes of fair competition; (2) the abolition of child labor in the same codes; (3) the recognition of collective bargaining so that through self-help the same purposes could be reached; (4) the passage of the Wages and Hours Act of 1938.

**4. The reduction of debt.** The New Deal sought to achieve this through the following: (1) in agriculture, the creation of a new fiscal agency, the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation, which was to make possible the exchange of privately held agricultural long-term paper for public-guaranteed paper; (2) in the field of home ownership, the creation of a new fiscal agency, the Home Owners Loan Corporation, for a similar purpose; (3) the reform of the federal bankruptcy law to permit private companies and municipalities to come to an understanding with their creditors quickly and at small legal cost.

**5. The revival of foreign trade.** Another important characteristic of the depression for the United States was the decline of foreign trade. Therefore Congress was persuaded to enable the State Department to negotiate commercial treaties the purpose of which was to obtain the lowering of tariff barriers. In the interests of world trade, which the New Deal also sought to revive, these agreements were to contain most-favored-nation treatment clauses.

**6. The relief of the needy.** The New Deal sought to solve this desperate problem in the following ways: (1) the lending of money to the states for straight outdoor relief; (2) the creation of a federal agency, the Public Works Administration, which was to lend money to public and semi-public authorities to finance long-term public construction projects; (3) the writing of social security legislation under which direct federal appropriations and federal grants-in-aid were to be made to the states to provide for the unemployables and the perm-



anent needy, e.g., the aged, the blind, dependent and crippled children; (4) the provision of employment for the temporary needy, capable of work, in short-term projects financed by the federal government under the Works Progress Administration.

### **The New Deal and Reform.**

All of the above plans, it will be noticed, were designed to speed recovery. In addition, the New Deal had a reform program, the more important aspects of which may be listed as follows:

1. It succeeded in passing legislation and obtaining Supreme Court approval in the interests of labor's rights to organize and bargain collectively under its own leadership.

2. It passed legislation looking toward the establishment ultimately of adequate unemployment insurance protection.

3. It laid the basis of old-age annuity fund, under which, in time, all superannuated workers would receive annuities and not doles.

4. After a struggle it obtained the establishment of a minimum-wage and maximum-hour code and the abolition of child labour on a national scale as humanitarian measures.

5. It recognized the existence of submarginal farmers and tenants and therefore began to experiment with resettlement projects.

6. It set up the Tennessee Valley Authority, which has been described as "the most far-reaching adventure in regional planning ever undertaken outside Soviet Russia". The purpose of the TVA was to rehabilitate, economically and socially, the population of the valley and to create an experiment in the public control of electric light and power.

7. It tried to eliminate unnecessary holding companies in the power field.

8. It set up an agency for the supervision, in the public interest, of security exchanges.

9. It created an agency to guarantee the savings of small depositors in savings and commercial banks.

10. It attempted to rehabilitate the permanently depressed bituminous coal industry by establishing an agency to control prices and production.

11. It struggled to solve the problem of soil erosion by paying bonuses to farmers to grow soil-conserving crops.

12. It set up a railroad co-ordinator in an effort to work out a plan for the co-inordination and refinancing of the permanently depressed railroad industry.

13. Before 1939 it tried to solve the question of the rehabilitation of the American merchant marine.

14. It recognized that the building of better homes was an outstanding social need and it established an agency which, with government financing and subsidies, was to assist semi-public authorities to create low-cost housing.

### Criticism of the New Deal.

Drastic attempts at reform such as these did not proceed without violent opposition, and the Supreme Court itself declared the Agricultural Adjustment Act (A. A. A.) and the National Recovery Act (N. R. A.) illegal. Briefly expressed, the criticism of the New Deal centres around the emphasis on "planning" by the state, the socialistic aspects of state ownership of industry, and the inevitable centralization of power involved in such a vast scheme of state control. In fact, with regard to the last-named criticism, it has even been charged that the New Deal has done more than the victory of the North in 1865 to exalt the Federal power—a trend which it is maintained, further, was not intended by the men who drew up the Constitution.

According to Louis M. Hacker, "... the New Deal had no intention of overhauling drastically the capitalist system. The mechanism had run down temporarily; it was to be wound up again—after certain repairs had been made and new parts substituted. Having done this, the hope was that there would be suspended in balance and for all time the existing class relations in American society. This was, in brief, an experiment in state capitalism, that is to say, greater government controls over private business and government participation in business directly in those regions where private initiative had definitely failed.

"Put baldly, the New Deal was a political program in behalf of agricultural landlords and big commercial farmers, organized trade unionists, and oversea investors and imperialist promoters.

"It must be apparent, after six years of experimenting, that some of the important evils of the American economy were not attacked at their source. Tinkering with prices was an uncertain device for coming to grips with the heavy burden of capital claims. Demands for fair competition was a Canute-like program for checking the onward sweep of monopoly control over prices and production . . . The taking care of the needy was proper and a humane act. But was it just to demand that the lower middle classes, the workers, and the needy themselves, carry the greater part of the load in the form of heavy concealed taxes on consumption? Such were some of the questions still being asked of the New Deal by more realistic inquirers who wondered what fundamentally had been achieved as the government continued to pile up debt for the purpose of priming the pump of private enterprise."



What President Truman's policy toward the New Deal will be, now that the Second World War is over, will be watched with keenest interest by observers both within and outside of the United States.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

The handiest reference for teachers is "The Pocket History of the United States" (502 pages) by Allan Nevins and Henry Steele Commager and published by Pocket Books, Inc. for the price of 25c. This publication may be had from any news-stand.

Other helpful books, which are available from the Library of the University of Alberta, are:

"American Problems of Today", Louis M. Hacker (New York, 1939);

"The Growth of the American Republic", S. E. Morison and H. S. Commager (New York, 1937, two vols.);

"The Rise of American Civilization", Charles A. and Mary R. Beard (New York, 1940).

Reference Readings, from West and Eastman—"World Progress":

Introduction, pages 820-825

The Struggle for Union, pages 825-833

The United States as a Great Power, pages 833-837.

## REFERENCE LIST OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

This list is for reference only. **Students are not to be required to memorize it.**

George Washington, 1789-1797

John Adams, 1797-1801

Thomas Jefferson, 1801-1809

James Madison, 1809-1817

James Monroe, 1817-1825

John Quincy Adams, 1825-1829

Andrew Jackson, 1829-1837

Martin Van Buren, 1837-1841

William H. Harrison, 1841 (one month)

John Tyler, 1841-1845

James K. Polk, 1845-1849

Zachary Taylor, 1849-1850

Millard Fillmore, 1850-1853

Franklin Pierce, 1853-1857

James Buchanan, 1857-1861

Abraham Lincoln, 1861-1865

Andrew Johnson, 1865-1869

Ulysses S. Grant, 1869-1877

Rutherford B. Hayes, 1877-1881

James A. Garfield, 1881 (6 mos.)

Chester A. Arthur, 1881-1885

Grover Cleveland, 1885-1889

Benjamin Harrison, 1889-1893

Grover Cleveland, 1893-1897

William McKinley, 1897-1901

Theodore Roosevelt, 1901-1909

William H. Taft, 1909-1913

Woodrow Wilson, 1913-1921

Warren G. Harding, 1921-1923

Calvin Coolidge, 1923-1929

Herbert C. Hoover, 1929-1933

Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1933-1945

Harry S. Truman, 1945—

## THE NATIONAL PHYSICAL FITNESS ACT.

(Social Studies 2, Unit X, "A National Physical Fitness Programme") .

The National Physical Fitness Act, which came into force in Canada in July, 1943, has been described by the national director of the programme, Major Ian Eisenhardt, as a serious attempt to eliminate 4F's in the Dominion forever. The Act appropriates from the Dominion Government Physical Fitness Fund a sum of about two cents per person annually. For Alberta this works out to approximately \$17,000. But in this province an equal grant of money is being provided by the Department of Education. The object of this expenditure in both the Dominion and the Province is to promote physical fitness through the extension of physical education in schools, universities and other institutions; to train teachers, instructors and leaders; and to organize sports and athletics on a nation-wide scale. Opportunities are also to be provided for education in dramatics, music, art and other cultural activities. As physical fitness, health and nutrition are closely associated, attention will be given to nutrition to build healthy bodies.

One of the underlying reasons for this new attitude on the part of the Dominion toward health problems is the simple one of economy. With the Federal Government considering the inauguration of a programme of compulsory national health insurance to attempt to provide medical, dental and hospital care for everyone, it seemed only common sense to try to keep all citizens as healthy as possible. Otherwise, the contributions to the maintenance of the insurance scheme, estimated at a dollar a person each month, would prove inadequate. Officials believe that for every \$1,000,000 spent on national fitness, \$10,000,000 in doctor and drug bills will be saved. Thus Canada may have the largest physical-fitness programme ever inaugurated on this continent, as, ultimately, it is hoped to include every Canadian, whether he live in city, town or hamlet, whether he be vigorous or crippled. The emphasis is, of course, on sports and athletic training for all—a departure from the present practice where a few professionals perform before thousands of spectators who exercise only their lungs.

Is Canada, therefore, pioneering in this field? The answer is no. For years European countries, realizing the need for the physical development of their youth, have conducted physical fitness activities. These have included: physical development in schools, colleges and universities through physical culture; the extension of playgrounds; and the provision of opportunities for sports under national auspices. Newsreels during the past twenty years have given abundant evidence of this interest in vigorous health—most of us have seen pictures of thousands of bronzed athletes marching down the main avenues of Prague, Rome, Berlin or Moscow. Undoubtedly, one of the principal aims behind the prescribed courses of strenuous games and exercises was the building of an efficient military machine. Indeed, it was mainly Canada's recent war-time

experience in mobilizing her military, air and naval forces which drew national attention to the critical need of physical fitness. By the time that Allied forces had landed in Sicily, the problem of securing needed replacements in the armed forces was assuming serious proportions. The pick of Canada's young men was already in uniform. Too many of those who were left behind had already been rejected because of physical defects or condition.

When efforts were made to mobilize additional man-power, Canadians were shocked to learn that their reserves included so many whose general health was much below military standards. They had, in brief, grown accustomed to thinking of their young men as the vigorous and capable soldiers, airmen and sailors whose appearance in films or on posters had been noted with patriotic pride. Evidently, however, there were many thousands more whose physical defects barred them from military duty.

Consequently, those responsible for the programme are determined to make its benefits extend from one end of the country to the other. They hope not only to restore large numbers of those found medically unfit to full health, but also to ensure them that in the future the entire youth of Canada will be vigorous and strong. How is this to be done? The nation-wide character of the programme might suggest that there be some compulsory exercises for all at the same time each day. Actually, an entirely different approach is being suggested. Those in charge feel that many Canadians have been starved of athletic expression simply because the facilities have not been available. Most people would play many more healthful games than they do at the present if they were given the opportunity. The experience of recreation directors in numerous war plants indicated how eagerly the average person takes up athletics. The introduction of games had an immediate effect upon morale and general well-being as well as causing absenteeism to decline rapidly.

The National Physical Fitness Programme calls for mass participation of all citizens in the sports of their choice—for fun and health. This, in itself, is something new in Canada. Until now most of our efforts have been concentrated on the production of a few star athletes. Naturally, the system has suffered from grave abuses. Many capable youngsters have been burned out in order to pay tribute to an ambitious coach or to satisfy the demands of the crowd. Our tendency has been to draw forth the last ounce of energy from those with exceptional ability and to neglect all the others. The result is, as we have already indicated, that we are a nation of bleacher athletes. Thousands of people will gather in stadiums or will cluster about their radios for the latest development in the sporting world. Only a small percentage of these actually take part in athletics. The policy of those in charge of the programme is, then, to make it sufficiently broad to appeal to all ages and types. Hiking, youth-hostelling, rhythmic, aquatics, mountaineering, camping, and boating will all be included, as well as the more familiar types of games and athletics.

A great many trained instructors will be necessary to put this scheme into action. A College of Physical Training for future leaders has been suggested. The Alberta Post-War Reconstruction Committee Report on Education recommended that the University of Alberta cooperate with other universities in the prairies to provide the physical education training programme so needed in this region. At present the Alberta Physical Fitness Association operates one school of this nature in Calgary, but more are urgently required.

This does not mean that either the Dominion or the Province will disregard present leadership. Such agencies as the Y.M.C.A., the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides have been working to improve physical fitness. Instead of superseding these organizations an attempt will be made to strengthen and coordinate their work with other groups in the community so that the programme will extend to the smallest units—the neighbourhood and the family circle.

The Alberta Physical Fitness Association, formed in 1943, was the first provincial association organized in Canada. As a result of the Associations' discussion of the recommendations made by the National Council on Physical Fitness in Ottawa, it was agreed that a programme should be integrated so that the entire population of Alberta would receive benefits under the scheme. The physical education courses prescribed by our Department of Education meet the requirements for the Physical Fitness programme. But as the Social Welfare Report of the Alberta Post-War Reconstruction Committee points out, "Most rural areas have shortages of equipment and lack of facilities for an extensive program of physical fitness, and unless teachers are particularly interested in carrying out the program, little time is devoted to it. Most rural areas do not have suitable community halls, public playgrounds, swimming pools or facilities for aquatics, hence a large building program has to be provided if the Physical Fitness program is to reach its objectives in the rural areas. Even in the cities, where there are more facilities for recreation for old and young, there is a lack of supervision and leadership in leisure-time activities. The post-school program of physical fitness should be closely allied with the program in the schools and should be started as soon as possible."

However, Alberta is by no means completely unprepared. It will be remembered that, beginning in 1938, Alberta participated in the Dominion-Provincial Youth Training programme which covered people over high school age only. In 1944 the Youth Training organization and staff were taken over and are being used by the new Alberta Physical Fitness Association. In spite of war conditions which caused many leaders to enlist in the armed services, Alberta, during 1943-44, had no less than 91 centres in operation in 43 communities. Great expansion will almost certainly come as the post-war period progresses.

Major Eisenhardt has termed the National Physical Fitness Programme "a great national crusade for fresh air and sunshine". Yet



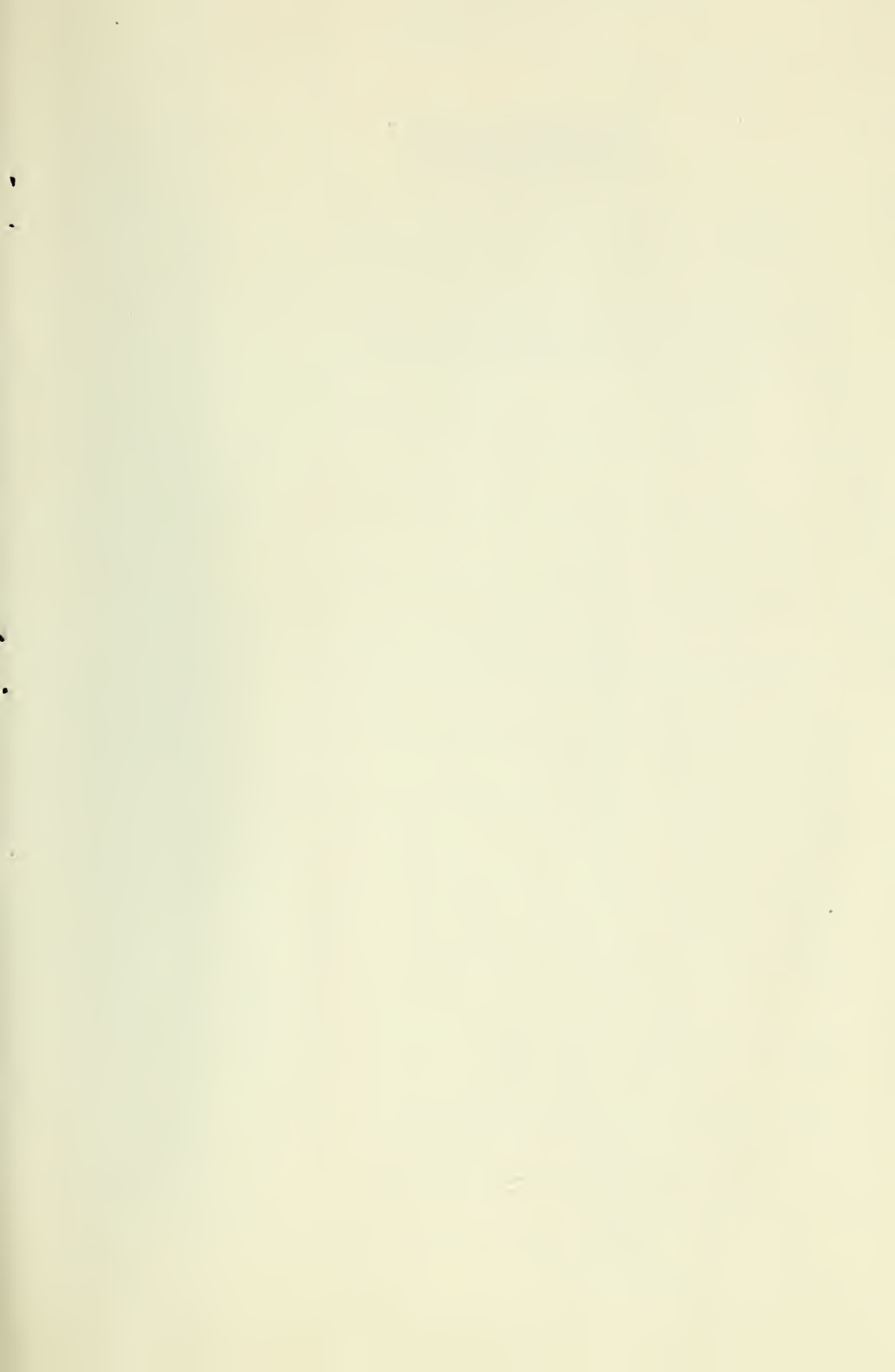
he regards the movement as contributing to more than physical welfare. Speaking before the National Council on Physical Fitness in May, 1944, he declared, "It is on the playing fields, during leisure time, that society can be shaped. To the child, physical training and games will give the incentive to strive for perfection, to fight fairly, and the fortunes of the sport, the winning and the losing, can, when properly used, instil modesty, gentleness and strength. Games and sport will teach the child obedience without reticence. They can bring out individuality and at the same time make that individuality disappear when the team spirit demands it. On the playing fields the boy is trained to become a man, the girl a woman. Courageous, red-blooded Canadian youth, ready to shoulder responsibilities, will prove a good investment."

N.B.—Further information concerning the National Physical Fitness Act may be had from the following:

- (1) Alberta headquarters—Mr. J. H. Ross, Health and Recreation Branch, Department of Education, 6th floor, 217 Seventh Avenue West, Calgary.
- (2) National headquarters—Major Ian Eisenhardt, Department of National Health and Welfare, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, Ontario.









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